

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 685

August 12, 1949

THREEPENCE

Scepter'd Isle's latest role

BRITAIN IS NOW A BOMBING BASE

Occupation Air Force comes to stay

LAST week Gen. Vandenburg, U.S. Air Chief, announced that the Burtonwood, Lancs., base for the U.S. Air Force will be maintained after the Berlin air-lift ends.

Britain, for 400 years the projecting point of far-flung outposts of Empire, is now an outpost of American militarism.

There has been practically no public discussion or expression of opinion regarding this historic decision to make Britain an established air base for U.S. operations against Russia.

The myth of Military Necessity appears to have hypnotised both people and rulers to the point of rendering them incapable of estimating either the significance or the extent of this sacrifice of national independence.

Such a decision involves more than mere co-operation in a military alliance. As an American writer, quoted in another column, frankly says, Britain's internal affairs are intimately influenced by the U.S. Government.

Indeed, they must be so, in view of the fact that the vast and indefinitely increasing military expenditure involved must relegate the Government's social programme to a subordinate position and place its whole national policy at the mercy of external affairs over which it has only a minority control.

As the international tension increases, America may soon be controlling our affairs much as Russia controls those of Poland and Czechoslovakia, and on the same excuse.

Little by little.

This acquiescence may also be partly due to the fact that it has all been done gradually and without public explanation of the ultimate purpose.

At first, the Burtonwood base was announced as "only temporary" and solely for the use of the Berlin air-lift. For example:—

July 17, 1948: "Sixty Superfortresses of the U.S. Army Air Force were last night on their way to Britain for 'temporary duty'."

"There is no question of the USAAF establishing or reopening United States air bases in England, as was reported in America yesterday."—Daily Herald.

August 6, 1948: "Another group of 30 Superfortresses will leave its Arizona base

tomorrow for England. When these bombers arrive there will be 90 of them in England."—News Chronicle.

August 25, 1948: "Increased activity of the U.S. Air Force in Europe have made it necessary to set up a repair and maintenance base at Burtonwood, Lancs., the Air Ministry announced last night—Daily Herald.

Why Russian attitude stiffened?

On September 1, 1948, it may be recalled, the Press announced hopes of the end of the Berlin blockade ("End-Blockade Hope. May be Lifted in 14 Days"—Daily Herald headline).

But the negotiations broke down again, and the re-stiffening of the Russian attitude was attributed to the usual irrational intransigence.

A more likely reason, however, was the suspicion that the air-lift was being used as a front for the establishment of permanent air-bases in Europe.

For while the British Press was silent, the New York Times and the Herald Tribune revealed that 3,500 aircraft maintenance personnel would leave that day (September 1) for Britain to service the three Superfortress Groups already in Britain, and that 6,000 Air Force personnel would be based in Europe before the winter.

On June 3, 1949, the Times quoted Major-General L. W. Johnson, Commander of U.S. 3rd Air Division, with headquarters at Ruislip, as saying that the strength of the U.S. Air Force in Britain would shortly be "increased from the present 8,000 to 12,000 men."

European outlook: Grim

It will be observed that, in both the British and American Press, it is taken for granted that, even with all the help U.S. can avoid being overrun by the Russian army.

That seems to be a generally acknowledged part of the plan, together with the fact that, even if there isn't a war, they will be crippled, if not ruined, by the cost.

American war fever

U.S. PRESS PROVOCATION IS NOT REALISED IN THIS COUNTRY

MUCH of the Russian fear and suspicion might be better understood in this country if the British people knew more about the kind of thing the Russians are reading in the American Press.

The British Press, which at its worst is by comparison mild and restrained, reflects but little of the American newspaper war fever.

Below we reprint typical quotations from three widely read American periodicals. They give the impression that in America war is regarded as practically inevitable and that the plan of campaign is discussed to a degree only consistent with a general expectation of approaching hostilities.

Their effect on Russian readers can be imagined, particularly the accompanying war map, a form of diagram only associated with actual war.

From U.S. News and World Report, April 9, 1948:

"STRATEGY FOR WORLD WAR III: DRIVE TO CHOKO SOVIET INDUSTRY. Prospect of Long Conflict, Maybe Stalemate."

"War, if it comes, will be long, hard, maybe indecisive. U.S. will save atom bombs for Russia, will save other parts of Europe. Russia will overrun much of Europe, maybe bomb U.S."

"Invasion of U.S. isn't in the cards. Neither is invasion of Russia. Stalemate, or U.S. victory by hammering Russia back within her old borders, might be the outcome."

"War between U.S. and Russia no longer is an academic prospect. Such a clash is near enough so that its course . . . can be plotted in advance."

"Russia would invade . . . parts of Europe she does not already occupy. One sweep . . . would take in Germany, Denmark, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, up to the English Channel and the Pyrenees."

"Little opposition can be offered in this area by the Western powers. . . ."

"On one point there is wide agreement: If an end to a war must wait until one power completely defeats the other and

occupies its territory, the war will be one of the longest in modern history."

New York Herald Tribune, 16 March, 1949:

"Every responsible European leader acknowledges frankly that all major decisions of the world struggle must ultimately be made in Washington. Even Europe's internal problems are intimately influenced by the views and measures of the U.S. Government. And even including Britain."

"The Atlantic Pact and the inauguration of a programme to rearm Western Europe are . . . only the first steps."

"The task will be long, dirty, tiringly complex and unpleasantly costly."

"The Western nations may have over five times the annual steel production of the Soviets. But the experience of 1939 should prove it is never safe to rely on preponderant but unmobilised resources while permitting the enemy to achieve preponderance of immediate military might . . ."

"(Therefore) we must unquestionably make enough effort and sacrifice to retain for the West a very strong defensive alliance . . ."

Newsweek, 21 March, 1949.

An article by General Spaatz answers some of the arguments of the opponents of the arms-for-Europe plan.

To the argument that Europe, even with U.S. help, could not be made strong enough to avoid being overrun by "Russia's enormous army," all he says, in effect, is that Europe must be ready to hold the Russians up as long as possible.

To the argument that increased preparations may only provoke Russia to aggression now, he replies:

"Nothing we are proposing to do in Europe should alarm the Russians as much as what we are already doing at home in stocking atom bombs and extending the range of our bombers."



"War Map" from U.S. News and World Report of April 9, 1948.

CAPTIONS INSET

Left: Britain would be a base of great value, although Russian attacks would make it hazardous and might limit its use. Britain would not be a major invasion base, but from Britain and Ireland air attacks could be launched by V-bombs, and some evacuation might be necessary. Invasion of Britain by Russia would be impossible.

Top Centre: The Soviet Army rapidly would overrun Western Europe, up to the Pyrenees, and might also seize the Scandinavian countries. Russia would seek to exploit the man power and industry of occupied countries. She would launch attacks on the oil fields of the Middle East. Soviet submarines would attack U.S. shipping, and, from submarines and bases in Europe, token bombings would be directed at the U.S. Russia might attack Alaska, but could not seriously cripple the U.S.

Bottom Centre: The United States would attack Russia chiefly by air. The Mediterranean area would be of first importance, together with Britain and the Middle East. The Arctic would be of minor importance in these operations. Southern Italy, Sicily and Turkey would be important as bases. Atom bombs would be saved for use on Russia herself. Bombing of Western Europe would be directed primarily against transportation systems. Objective of the U.S. would be to detach Russia's satellite states and to force Russia back to her pre-war borders. Land invasion and occupation of Russia herself would be impossible.

ONE UP FOR CARDIGAN!

Army lectures in schools refused

CARDIGANSHIRE Education Committee has rejected by a large majority a request from Western Command for a team of trained lecturers to visit the schools in the County to speak on Army life and National Service.

The matter was discussed at a meeting in Aberayron on July 28.

Western Command, making the application, was at pains to assure them that the lectures were not intended as recruiting. But they thought full information about National Service would assist boys who would be called up and those who might make the Army their career.

"We must have National Service," said Major R. L. Phillips, "so why not make it as easy as possible? Are we to blacken the name of Wales by this childish refusal to face facts?"

Something better to do

Mr. Ben Thomas said children of 14 had something better to do than discuss the defence of the country. "If they want to speak on this matter," he added, "let them do it from an orange box at the street corner."

Mr. Edward Lewis, Llandysul, deplored the fact that schoolchildren today played with revolvers and gangsters' hats. The

world would not be led to peace by bringing military matters into the schools.

He would like to see hung up in a permanent place in every school, the old Welsh saying—"The glory of the sword lay in its idleness, and its rust is its honour."

Mr. J. R. Lewis said that as some parents wanted their children to have the lectures, those with other views could keep their children away.

Church divided

The Rev. J. Bowden Thomas, of Borth, supporting the request, said he would like to feel that young people were leaving one phase of life for another in a state of preparedness.

The Rev. E. Glyn Davies, of Abergarth, said schools were being over-burdened with subjects other than those of a purely educational character.

When put to the meeting, the request of Western Command was rejected by 32 votes to 17.

* (We regret that either the Reverend gentleman or our reporter omitted to say what subsequent phase of life this preparedness was supposed to be for—army, civil, family, general or eternal. We feel, therefore, that this report may not do justice to his opinions—Editor Peace News.)

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The Trump Card

By Laurence Housman

IS it sufficiently realised—it is certainly not publicly admitted by the signatories to the Atlantic Pact—that, in the present warlike conflict between the rival ideologies for security and peace, the Soviet Union, in its choice of "Cold War" holds the Trump Card?

For however disagreeable and obstructive the USSR chooses to make itself, it knows perfectly well that (so long as it limits itself to the technique of Cold War) the Western powers dare not declare war on it.

Why not? Firstly, because, though all Nations still believe in war as an ultimate means for securing what war never will secure, war is now intensely unpopular; and any Government which declares war is liable to a great popular upheaval of protest, which (even if it does not take the form of a National strike) will very seriously reduce its effectiveness; for no Government can wage war effectively, if it has not a great body of popular feeling behind it. And the "Cold War," so long as it stays cold, is not going to arouse that feeling.

This is still more true when it is not a single Nation but an alliance of Nations, on which the brunt of war will fall very differently according to their size and their locality.

America, the only member of the Atlantic Pact at all likely, under certain circumstances, to favour a declaration of war against Russia, can by its size and distance, and its huge resources—in addition to its immunity from the destruction of its cities in the last war—hope for survival and recovery as well as victory. But the victory of America could only be won over the bodies of nations with no hope for survival or recovery.

America, in spite of its possession of the Atom Bomb, has no means of preventing a vast devastation of Western Europe within a few days of a declaration of war; for the Russian armies, with their up-to-date projectiles, would be operating from the Eastern zone of occupied Germany.

And is occupied Germany to be made the battle ground, and the recipient of discharges of the Atom bomb, with the benevolent intention of making it safe for Democracy—or, failing that, making the other Nations safe for Democracy?

But our trouble (and our dilemma) is not only international: it is national also. There is today in this country a conspicuous lack of love for the community in its present emergency, as evidenced in strikes by powerful trade unions, imposing their selfish ends on a whole society struggling to avoid bankruptcy. And if you have "Cold War" at home there is little hope of getting rid of "Cold War" abroad.

It is that spirit which makes me question whether Communism is not going to become the natural expression of up-to-date Trade Unionism: and if it obtains the allegiance of a majority, we (who maintain our belief in majority rule) shall have to accept it. And if Russia knows that—in the present state of proletarian feeling—time is on her side, then she has no need to declare war.

I believe that the voluntary spirit is all important; and that if we cannot awaken a sense of social good-will, and a wish to give voluntary service on an international scale here and elsewhere, Western Europe is quite likely to be Communist in the next ten or fifteen years.

In these circumstances ought we to be grateful to Russia or not that she holds the trump card for the prevention of war, until (with the possession of the Atom Bomb) it suits her time?

It is a race between rivalry and suspicion on the one hand, and goodwill and free service on the other. Which is going to win?

If Democracy cannot meet that challenge, then a total wipe-out of our present form of civilisation may be the only alternative.

World in search of security

A Commentary by ROY SHERWOOD

ACCORDING to my own superficial count there have been eleven successful armed robberies in the last seven days, all in England or in France. Prominence in the week's news has in fact been shared by the insecurity of money and valuables and the American Service Chiefs' travels across Western Europe to study security questions against attack by the Russians.

When a world figure like the Aga Khan can be held up within a few yards of his own house in the South of France and relieved without much fuss of two or three hundred thousand poundsworth of jewellery in a matter of minutes, while the newspaper on his knee congratulates its readers on our growing security, it seems time to give a little thought to that hard-worked word "security."

It is very elusive.

THERE is something slippery about it. No part of the world, nor any section of its different nation-communities, holds security in anything approaching all-round form.

Wherever one or two segments of it make their appearance in prosperous rotundity, a second look shows that other parts of it have been flattened out of existence. And this has always been so. All-round security has been so conspicuously absent during the whole of recorded history, that it is not to be wondered at that quite a lot of people ask whether we can be meant ever to have it.

Perhaps not. But there can be no doubt at least that, even if the ultimate end is obscure, the whole world community's interests as far as we can think ahead must be well served by every effort in that direction, for two reasons.

The first is that present conditions are so ludicrously far removed from all-round economic, social, legal and physical security for all, that, to worry about the possible by-products of so blissful a state, is as if a starving beggar were to be afraid of the indigestion he might get if he were to be invited to a Lord Mayor's Banquet of the days before the first world war.

The second reason is that man's more unpleasant characteristics become gradually

but incontestably improved with every increase in his security.

Our most urgent problem

THAT is why the most urgent problem of our time is to find ways and means of lessening the time-lag between gain in economic security and the corresponding moral and intellectual improvement, so that both the national and the international communities may receive their share of benefit—which should come in the form of an increase in their own security—brought about by specific improvements in the social and economic conditions of particular sections of the various nations.

And it is also why the economic policy of "a reasonable labour reserve of a million or so unemployed," advocated by "The Economist" and a number of spokesmen of Big Business, is so tragically short-sighted at this crucial moment in the world's search for security.

No country has it

WHEN we come to sub-divide security into the more obvious of its segments, Russia can probably shout loudest on the subject of economy. But the price the Russian pays for that is heavy and must be heavy even in his own eyes, in spite of his traditionally different attitude to politics.

Apart from his larger share than other people's in physical insecurity on account of the atomic bomb, he is less safe than anyone else against midnight arrest and compulsory labour in a place thousands of miles away from his home. As for the series of interrogations and everything else that precedes the journey to one of the places of "re-education," they by themselves are quite sufficient for the statement that social and legal security cannot pretend to exist within Soviet territory.

The Americans, militarily the safest people on earth, are secure neither in their present prosperity nor in many other respects.

Their danger line of unemployment is known to be 4,500,000. In June, 1948, they had 2,227,000 unemployed, although the extra work created by the Marshall Plan was then already operative; in June, 1949, they had 3,778,000, and in July they had 4,095,000—with social legislation far in arrears of our provisions for unemployed.

QUAKERS' PLAN FOR EAST-WEST PEACE

II. U.S. Economic Policy in relation to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe *

THE embargo on virtually all United States shipments to the Soviet Union and the restriction of trade with Eastern Europe has been a reflection of the political tension and of the belief that the withholding of goods from these countries might have some bearing, in the short run, on their war-making ability.

There is much less reason to believe that a general embargo on trade would in the long run, have any substantial bearing on the war potential of Russia and eastern Europe. On the contrary, the economic interdependence and the human contact which is promoted by normal commercial relations between countries, can serve as an important restraining factor in any subsequent political or military crisis.

Economic warfare is a two-edged sword and there is little evidence that, even in the short run, such restrictions have any substantial bearing on the retarding of a country's relative war potential. The comparative industrial strength of non-Communist areas may actually be maintained or further increased by such trade. It should be noted in this connection that the Soviet Union continued to ship manganese, a strategic war material, to the United States for several months after the U.S. embargoed shipments to the USSR.

Despite the decision of Russia and the eastern European countries not to participate in the Marshall Plan, they have evidenced a strong interest in regular commercial relationships with the United States and with western Europe. United States trade restrictions have been made the subject of special protest and debate both in the United Nations Economic and Social Council and in the General Assembly.

It is apparent that the rigid application of U.S. export controls has aggravated the East-West conflict and in this sense, has increased the psychological war potential in the USSR and eastern Europe.

There is not to our knowledge any substantial evidence that economic recovery and further industrialisation in the eastern European countries would result in any increased threat to the security of the United States or of western Europe.

On the contrary, recovery and industrialisation are in fact at least as likely to lead to these countries being able, in the long run, to take a more independent position and play a more mitigating role in the East-West conflict.

We therefore make the following recommendations with regard to United States economic policy in relation to the Soviet Union and eastern Europe:

1. The attempt to correlate the export policies of "Marshall Plan" countries

with present U.S. export policy should be dropped in the interests of increasing East-West trade in Europe.

The economic self-support of Europe under the Marshall Plan was originally projected on the basis of a substantial increase in East-West trade. Unless the volume of this trade can be accelerated, it is unlikely that western Europe will have recovered sufficiently by 1952 to make possible the termination of Marshall Plan assistance.

The U.S. embargo policy hinders the restoration and development of this trade and thus retards efforts towards European recovery.

2. The United States should encourage closer collaboration between the Committee for European Economic Co-operation (Marshall Plan) and the Economic Commission for Europe.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe has made notable progress in facilitating an over-all approach to the allocation and use of materials in short supply. The Commission's work has resulted in an increase in East-West trade. Since it is an agency able to give competent long-run attention to this problem, the United States should give strong support to the work of the Commission against the time when Marshall Plan aid will no longer be available.

3. The United States should drop its present restrictions on normal exports to Russia and Eastern Europe.

The restoration of regular trade with the Soviet Union and eastern Europe would remove one important source of friction in our relationship with these countries and would facilitate an economic interdependence which would serve in the long run as a restraining influence on political conflict.

4. The United Nations programme of technical and other assistance to under-developed areas, plans for which were accelerated by President Truman's "Point Four" proposal, should be developed in such a way that it could include eastern European countries.

The inclusion of eastern European countries in this plan would strengthen the relationship of these countries with the United Nations and would strengthen the general programme by helping to break down the present East-West division. It would be highly undesirable, and would subject the programme to needless attack, if it were only available to these countries believed to be in sympathy with the "majority" in the General Assembly.

5. The United States should re-examine its remaining tariff barriers to see what relationship they have to a balanced long-range U.S. foreign trade programme.

Politically, the least rumour about a man's sympathy for communism puts him high on the list of those to be discharged if lack of work dismissals become advisable. And economically safe and unsafe alike feel as insecure about the Soviets as if the whole of the United States were crowded into what remains of Germany.

Britain's declining independence

AS for us, apart from our obvious share in physical insecurity on account of the threat of war, our transition stage to the Welfare State has flattened out a good many segments of security. In so far as the gain in economic security for those whom earlier generations described with callous complacency as "the poor who will always be with us" means only a reduction in the surplus security of others, there is no net loss on balance.

Such however, is not the case. Our very position between an America that dislikes the Welfare State and a Russia that dislikes aspects of individual security which we hold sacred, is constantly forcing actions on us whereby the sum total of our security is diminished.

To mention one point only, because it is the most important, our loss in independence has not been counterbalanced by corresponding gains towards world unity. On any showing, political or ethical, it should have done.

Instead of a loss there should have been a gain, not only for ourselves but for the whole world, and the fact that, with a Labour-governed Britain standing halfway between America and Russia, there has been no such gain, shows how far all concerned—Russia, Britain and America—have all fallen short of the demands made on them by the needs of our time.

Above all—the atom bomb

BUT let us forget about individual or national insecurities. The whole world is insecure about its continued existence as long as the power of atomic destruction lies in the hands of a few individuals.

To be able to order the release of a few dozen atomic bombs conveys a power so far transcending human fitness that it can only be described as godlike.

That is why security has never been further removed from humanity than it is now.

The present trade of the United States is built to a substantial degree around Marshall Plan shipments. There is serious question as to whether many of these markets will continue to be available after the close of this programme.

The United States should give attention now to the manner in which a balanced long-range foreign trade programme could be initiated so that it would be in operation as Marshall Plan shipments come to an end.

Such a study would of necessity include a review of present import restrictions in the light of the expanding international creditor position of the United States.

Only through an accelerated world-wide exchange of goods, scaled to reap the benefits of technological progress, can high levels of productive employment be maintained and the material well-being of people in all trading areas be improved.

* Part I—"U.S. Policy on Germany" was published on July 29.

HIROSHIMA DAY

We took our part in the demonstration in Hyde Park on August 6, when we reminded ourselves of the immediate effect of the dropping of the first atom bombs and of the consequences of that catastrophic decision. In sending a message to the Mayor and people of Hiroshima we tried to accept the challenge of the message of their Peace Tower—NO MORE HIROSHIMAS. But the demonstration cost money and if we are to follow up that challenge it means spending more and more money. I am not ashamed to remind you of this continually. The full power of atomic energy is the result of smaller impacts—chain reaction. This is to start off a chain reaction. I bring you up against the challenge—you give off your response. You bring two other people up against facts and get their response . . . and so on . . . and so on. Will you please try asking two of your friends to give you something to send to Headquarters Fund this week in response to the challenge "No More Hiroshimas!"

MAUD ROWNTREE,

Hon. Treasurer.

Amount received since July 21: £5 15s. 9d.

Total since Jan. 1: £71 5s. 8d.

Budget for 1949: £300.

Amount still required: £228 14s. 4d.

Donations to the fund should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Shepherd House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

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Hiroshima Day at Hyde Park

DR. POSIN ON ATOM BOMB EFFECTS

THERE was a large crowd at the "No More Hiroshimas" Day meeting at Hyde Park on August 6. They listened earnestly while Dr. Daniel Q. Posin gave them some ghastly facts about the first ("now obsolete") atom bomb.

At the centre of the explosion, he said, the temperature was one million degrees; 30,000 people there just disintegrated. People one mile away were struck by a boiling wind; 25,000 perished thus.

People three miles away were "flash-burned"; 75,000 were mutilated in that way. Of those that faced the explosion many had died just through losing the will to live.

There is no defence

But now, he said, we had a much more powerful weapon—an atom bomb exploded under water. When the bomb explodes a column of water half a mile in diameter and weighing ten million tons is shot into the air.

All this water is deadly. It forms cloud and can be blown 4,000 miles. When it blows over a town no one will know it is there until they start bleeding (radiation sickness). One dropped in San Francisco Bay could kill 300,000.

He maintained there was no defence. The ground would remain radio-active for 50 years. And it was foolish to talk about radar. We should remember that in spite of all the work that went into defence Britain did not shoot down a single V2.

Cause of international tension

Stuart Morris said that Hiroshima Day was being celebrated in many other countries, and not merely in sympathy for the dead and mutilated but in determination to prevent a repetition of atom warfare.

He was sure international relations were being strained by the fact that only one country could use the atom bomb.

When that bomb was dropped, he said, Japan had already asked for peace. We now had reason to believe that it was dropped in order that Russia should not have time to get her troops into Tokyo as she had into Berlin.

Frank Beswick, MP, spoke of the need for world government. If we were to prevent atomic power from destroying us we must control it, and the unit of control must represent the whole world.

Michael Howard, the chairman, concluded the meeting after answering questions about world government.

The Quaker Peace Testimony

War, in our view, involves the surrender of the Christian ideal and a denial of human brotherhood; it is an evil for the destruction of which the world is longing; but freedom from the scourge of war will only be brought about through the faithfulness of individuals to their inmost convictions, under the guidance of the Spirit of Christ. Our position is based upon our interpretation of the teaching of Jesus Christ.

—Yearly Meeting Minute, January, 1916.

The above is an extract from "The Quaker Peace Testimony," an anthology compiled by Jos. S. Rowntree and Helen Hyles Ford and published by the Friends Peace Committee, 6d.

TEACHERS AND MILITARY TRAINING

IN their Report to the NUT Conference (1949), the Birmingham Association include the following resolutions on military training and cadet corps in schools:—

"That it is not advisable at the present time to make a pronouncement either in favour of or against the practice of having pre-service units attached to schools.

"That there should be freedom for Head teachers and Staff to decide whether the school should have any of these units connected with the school.

"That willingness to take part in the activities of the unit should not be a condition of appointment to the staff of a school.

"That Local Education Authorities and Governing Bodies should not seek to impose the formation of units in schools."

It was further agreed that the age of admission to the various units should not be less than fifteen.

Publications received

BELGIAN COS MUST STILL BE DESERTERS

L'Objection de Conscience et la Loi en Belgique, par Hem Day. 4to. 10pp. cyclostyled. (Bruxelles: I.R.G. 17, rue du Tabellion.)

IN this pamphlet the Belgian member of the Council of the War Resisters' International says that although his country is proud of its advanced and truly democratic Constitution, liberty of conscience receives little honour.

Military service is compulsory for all fit men, though the length of service varies with the circumstances. Conscientious objectors who do not answer their call-up are deserters, and like other refractory elements can be sentenced to anything from two months to two years imprisonment in peace-time or ten to fifteen years in time of war.

Their position is complicated by a Flemish independence movement which, among other refusals to co-operate with the Belgian Government, has sometimes refused military service.

In 1931 an attempt was made to introduce a law recognising conscientious objection, but it became "interred in a box in a ministerial office among the dust and spiders." Several subsequent attempts have been equally unsuccessful. Hem Day outlines the proposals that have been made, and carefully explains the present position.

PPU Journal, August, 1949, Demy 8vo., 12pp. (PPU, 4d.)

AS this is the monthly domestic bulletin of the Peace Pledge Union, most of its contents are addressed to members, but it frequently contains items which must be of interest to those who belong to other branches of the pacifist movement, and even to those who are outside it altogether.

In the August number are, a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury in reply to a

Pacifist Profiles

TODAY one of the best known and most popular pacifist leaders in the world, Ormond Burton, answering what he believed to be the crusader's call, went eagerly into action with the New Zealander's in the first World War.

Recognised as one of the very brave by officers and men, he was awarded the Military Medal and the French Médaille Militaire d'Honneur and promoted from the ranks.

He wrote the official Record of the Auckland Regiment and was later commissioned to write "The Silent Division," an account of the New Zealanders in Gallipoli and other fronts.

But by this time his beliefs had been radically changed. The aftermath of war opened his eyes and turned him into another

kind of soldier—a Christian Pacifist. In his "Silent Division" he insisted on an appendix explaining his renunciation of war.

Graduating MA from Auckland University College, he chose teaching as a career and had a long battle with the Education authorities until a qualified oath of allegiance was permitted. Breaking with the Labour Party because it required an unconditional pledge of Party loyalty he fought an independent election campaign as a Christian Socialist.

After 10 years' teaching at Wesley College he accepted ordination into the Methodist Ministry and was appointed to a slum church in Wellington.

With A. C. Barrington in 1937 he founded the Christian Pacifist Society and was chairman until 1945. On the day war was declared he was arrested for making an open-air protest in front of Parliament Buildings. Two more arrests brought one month and three months in prison.



ORMOND BURTON

Open-air meetings being forbidden the ban was extended later to indoor meetings, so O. B. went back to open-air meetings. One speaker was arrested each week, 15 in all going to gaol, and Burton receiving a year's sentence.

Soon after leaving prison he was expelled from the Methodist Ministry for refusing to abide by a Methodist Manifesto justifying the war.

He took to manual labour for a period but was arrested again for propaganda and was sentenced to 2½ years. The Regulation provided for not more than one year's hard labour and the Jury made a strong recommendation for mercy. But the Judge invoked the RD provisions of the Crimes Act in order to put O. B. "where he could not a pen to write with or a hall to lecture in."

Appeals organised by the WRI from the British Parliament and the Dominions were ignored. In all he spent 2 years 5 months in prison.

For a year after his release he worked as a cleaner in Wellington Technical College, but was finally given fulltime teaching in the same college—an unusual graduation!

He is now head of the English department, much sought after by University students and Christian Youth groups.

Well is he called "A Fighter for Peace"!

A.C.B.

The report of an address given last week at For London headquarters by Muriel Lester, who is now on her way to the USA, has been unavoidably held over till next week.

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Saturday, August 13

BANGOR: George Hotel; Summer Conference (Aug. 13-20); Crisis for Christendom; Details from For, 88 Gordon Square, N.C.1.

Sunday, August 14

PINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Jack Sutherland; Stoke Newington PPU Group.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

HIGHBURY CORNER: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Islington PPU.

Thursday, August 18

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; PPU.

Saturday, August 20 to 27

HAYWARDS HEATH: Elfinward; Summer School; speakers: Rev. Stanley Evans, Mr. Percy Bartlett, Miss Agatha Harrison, Rev. Dr. Curtin, Rev. Michael Gowing, Rev. J. E. Gowing; Apply for particulars: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Adelaide Street, W.C.2.

Sunday, August 21

NELSON: 7.30 p.m. Weavers Institute, Pendle Hill; Public meeting: "Fear—Disarmament—War"; speaker: Richard Bland; Chairman: Edna Robinson; PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

PINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Jack Sutherland; Stoke Newington PPU Group.

HIGHBURY CORNER: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Islington PPU.

Thursday, August 25

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; PPU.

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BIRTH

Ruby and Ron Barnes (Bridgwater) announce a brother for David and Keith, born July 20—Andrew Francis.

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Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

PEACE DAY AT BRISTOL

Big Open-air meeting

THE Bristol Peace Council sustained a large open-air Hiroshima Day meeting for over two-and-a-half hours on Durdham Downs last Saturday.

Will Parkin, Council Secretary, having opened the meeting with a condemnation of the vast arms expenditure, the Rev. A. J. Poinette, of Filton Methodist Church, spoke of his attendance at the Paris Peace Conference and said he had gone there to meet workers from the other side of the Iron Curtain.

As a Christian Minister he never objected to speaking on Communist platforms because he believed that peace came first.

Mrs. Shellard, speaking as a housewife, pleaded for toleration. As individuals, she declared, we disagreed on many fundamental questions, yet talked and worked together harmoniously in daily life. Why should not nations do likewise?

She visualised what prosperity might be enjoyed in terms of health, housing and education had not the country pledged so much of its resources to armaments.

Mr. McLaren, of the Association of Scientific Workers, spoke of the alarm many scientists felt at the piling up of atom bombs. It meant that uranium and plutonium would not be used for industrial and medical purposes.

The collaboration of governments over food production and distribution was a first step towards co-operation in other matters.

At the close of the meeting it was decided that a proposal to prepare a petition for a house-to-house canvas should be put before the Council.

M.B.

NORWAY PACIFISTS

Get Peace Day broadcast

AFTER repeated efforts appeared to have failed, Norwegian pacifists and others finally succeeded in persuading the NBC to schedule an independent 15 minute programme on August 6 relating to Hiroshima Peace Festival.

This included a lecture by Roald Tangen, professor of physics at Trondheim Technical College, who characterised the atomic age, with its overdeveloped technical mind at the sacrifice of the moral, predicted the threatened horrors and warned against the lunatic preparations for world war.

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SENTENCES

British MP's and Peers appeal to President

THE following letter, signed by two members of the House of Lords and thirteen MPs has been forwarded to the French President by the international headquarters of the War Resisters' International.

The WRI have appealed to their sections throughout the world to send appeals to the French authorities to release the imprisoned COs and to establish the right of conscientious objection in France.

The Society of Friends in Great Britain is taking action through diplomatic channels. The Peace Pledge Union, the British section of the WRI, is also appealing for rights for French COs.

July 28, 1949

His Excellency The President of the French Republic,

Monsieur Vincent Auriol,
Palais de l'Elysée,
Rue Saint Honorée,
Paris, 8e,
France.

Your Excellency,

Last February we ventured to draw your attention to the case of César Bugany, a French citizen detained as a conscientious objector to military training for reasons of his Christian faith.

Since our last letter Bugany has been tried again by the Metz Court Martial (June 11, 1949). He was then sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and the suspension of the second sentence of two years was lifted, with the result that he must now serve 27 months in prison. He is at present in the Maison d'Arrêt, Iter Rue Maurice Barres, Metz, France.

Judges favour CO rights

Two more similar cases have now been brought to our notice and of which we give the following details.

1. Andre Schoenauer. He was called up for military training on Sept. 7, 1948, and declared to the Minister of War that his conscience, as a Christian, prevented him from taking up arms. He was arrested and sentenced on Nov. 3, 1948, to one year's imprisonment, with stay of execution of sentence.

As he still refused to serve he was kept in prison and on May 18, 1949, was sentenced by the Metz Military Tribunal to two years' imprisonment for disobedience. This sentence also revoked the reprieve of the former sentence of one year which gives him three years of prison to complete. He is now in the Maison d'Arrêt, Iter Rue Maurice Barres, Metz, France.

2. Jean-Bernard Moreau. In Nov., 1948, he wrote to the Minister of National Defence saying that as a Christian he could not undertake military service, but that he was willing to undertake civilian work for a longer period than that for military training. Receiving no reply, he presented himself at Dupleix Barracks, but refused to put on uniform. Even-

tually he was brought before the Paris Military Tribunal on May 5, 1949, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Jean-Bernard Moreau is at present at the Baraque 16, Centre Penitencier de Pithiviers (Loire), France.

We understand that the judges at the Tribunal were so impressed by the sincerity of the young man's defence that they declared themselves in favour of a law regarding conscientious objection to military service.

It would also appear that in the present state of French law, conscientious objectors are liable to remain in prison indefinitely, until they reach the age of 49, since the problem of military service arises afresh at the end of each term of imprisonment.

We approach Your Excellency with great respect and feel great hesitation in appearing to make suggestions regarding the internal affairs of another country. Our two nations, however, are linked together by such close ties, that we would most respectfully ask whether some steps cannot be taken not only to reconsider the cases of these three young men, but to put the whole question of conscientious objection on a new basis.

Men of high moral character

These young men, and there are others like them—young men of high moral character and valuable to the State as good citizens—have expressed their willingness to perform an alternative civilian service not controlled by the military authorities. As you are doubtless aware many countries (including the USA, the Scandinavian countries and our own), provide such alternative civilian service for men whose objection to military training has been proved to be genuinely conscientious. Would it not be possible for France, with her high and renowned traditions of liberty, to consider the establishment of some such law, giving the option of alternative civilian service to proved genuine conscientious objectors?

We cannot believe it to be the intention of your Government to keep these young men—who are ready to devote and sacrifice themselves to any tasks, however difficult or dangerous, which they can conscientiously perform—in prison till they are over military age. But so far as we can see in the present state of the law in France, there is no alternative.

Therefore, with deepest respect, we venture to draw your attention to this matter, for we believe that freedom of conscience is vital to the prosperity and truest welfare of both our countries, which have for so many years now been so closely linked together in the struggle for freedom.

We therefore plead that consideration may be given to this very important question, which we venture to bring to your notice, namely that of the legal recognition of the right of conscientious objection to military service. In commending the adoption of such a law to the French Government, we believe it would be a further demonstration of the tradition of tolerance and liberty that our countries share.

Awaiting your Excellency's kind reply,

Yours faithfully,

Lord Faringdon, Lord Russell, John R. Battle, James Carmichael, Rhys J. Davies, James H. Hudson, Emrys Hughes, Fred Longden, Fred Messer, Florence Paton, John Paton, John Rankin, Henry Osborne, Victor Yates, Reginald Sorensen.

HORACE H. WINTON

PACIFISTS have lost a good friend and advisor by the sudden death in Worthing of Mr. Horace Winton.

A tireless worker in many good causes, Mr. Winton was chairman of the Worthing Group, Fellowship of Reconciliation. As one of the 1914-18 COs he made Christian Pacifism one of his chief interests throughout a useful life.

Although his pacifism was primarily the outcome of his religious feeling, Mr. Winton believed in giving practical expression to spiritual principles by active work. He was a pioneer in the Worthing Labour Party, and the experience gained in this field made him a most valued contributor to For group discussion. We shall miss him very much, and younger pacifists who knew him will be grateful for his example.

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Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN
COLUMN

"The consequences of doing what one believes to be right have got to be faced, however unpleasant they may be."

—Dick Sheppard

I SAID last week that the ordinary questioner at open-air meetings is not interested in what happened a hundred years ago but is concerned with the present. Every effort should be made to meet these ordinary people on their own ground and reply to their questions on that ground; not on some fact of history far removed from every day contemporary affairs.

Nevertheless pacifists themselves should know the history of non-violent and pacifist experiment. If one is to select a telling example for the sake of argument and to point a discussion it is necessary to know fully all that history can tell. Knowledge means confidence; it means opportunity for interpretation; it means security from any surprise; it is essential for pacifists to know their own subject.

I once instanced, in this column, William Penn's achievement as a notable example of the success of the non-violent technique, and received the question from a non-pacifist: "How long did it last; is Pennsylvania disarmed to-day?" To answer such comments it is necessary to be quite sure of the history of the incident and know what interpretation it is right to put upon the facts of that history.

No doubt every pacifist at some time or other has had the words "I came not to bring peace but a sword" hurled at him in argument, or "A strong man armed keepeth his goods in peace," which most non-pacifist Christians seem to think is a "clinger." An ability to quote the next few lines—even better, the whole chapter, will refute the implication involved in the use of those quotations once and for all.

One does not, of course, spend ones whole time arguing with non-pacifists, but as an athlete conserves his strength for the final burst of speed to carry him to victory, so the pacifist by reading and study, holds in reserve his knowledge for whatever challenge may come.

In these hurried and hurrying days there is perhaps little leisure, opportunity, or even inclination for intensive reading, and the Campaign Committee have, therefore, arranged with Ruth Fry to bring up-to-date and republish her small pamphlet, "Victories without Violence." This is easy to handle and to carry, and should be of service to all pacifists, not only speakers.

The first business of the Campaign is to gain adherents to the pledge and to do this we must know our own case and be ready at all times to testify to our faith. Whether the known facts cover the present day situation or not, the decision to be made is still one of right or wrong. To decide to be a pacifist means willingness to accept the consequences of choosing what we believe to be right, and so it is very necessary to understand what the consequences may be and to show a steadfast and courageous example to all those who are beginning to think that after all the pacifists may have been right.

I believe there are a very large number whose inclinations are turning towards us, seeking help, waiting to be organised into a great body of pacifist public opinion. This is our work, and every effort, however small, brings that work nearer to its end—a world without wars.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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